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AUTHOR Tangri, Sandra S.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

Four symposium papers report the results of a longitudinal study of career development and life changes for a sample of 1,967 female college graduates in the Michigan Student Study who were studied in 1967, 1970 and 1981. The first of the papers, entitled "Where Are They Now? Career Outcomes for the Original Role-Innovators," by Sandra S. Tangri, compares role innovators, traditionals, and moderates on educational and employment experiences, family formation, mentoring, aspirations, and role conflict. The second paper, "Predicting Role-Innovation Fourteen Years after College," by Sandra S. Tangri and Josephine Ruggiero, describes predictors of the paths taken by the three groups, including education and employment, family formation, motivation and commitment, and mentoring. The third paper, "Emotional Adaptation and Changes in Employment," by Jan L. Hitchcock, takes a life change perspective on subjects' employment experiences and examines the relationship between their emotional orientation and recency of last change of employment. The fourth paper, "Role Innovative Goals: Achievement and Change," by Sharon Rae Jenkins, focuses on continuity between 1967 plans and 1981 achievements, examining the complex influences on family and career goals. (JAC)

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THE WOMEN'S LIFEPATHS STUDY: ROLE-INNOVATION OVER FOURTEEN YEARS

Symposium Papers

Sandra S. Tangri
Josephine Ruggiero
Jan L. Hitchcock
Sharon Rae Jenkins

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WHERE ARE THEY NOW? CAREER OUTCOMES FOR THE ORIGINAL ROLE-INNOVATORS*

Sandra S. Tangri
Howard University

This symposium reports results from a longitudinal study of career development and associated life changes for a sample of women in the Michigan Student Study who graduated from college in 1967 and were studied in 1967, 1970, and 1981. The original random sample consisted of 200 women in their senior year at college, stratified according to the traditionality of the occupation that they said they intended to enter. Traditionality was defined in terms of the proportion of women in the occupation. One-third were Role-Innovators who chose occupations in which women were represented at less than their proportion in the experienced civilian labor force: 30 percent. One-third were Traditionals who chose occupations in which women constituted more than half of the labor force. And one-third were Moderates who chose occupations in which the workforce was between 30 and 50 percent female.

The second wave of data was collected in 1970 on 152 women (76 percent of the original sample), who remained fairly equally distributed across the three original strata (50 Role-Innovators, 48 Moderates, and 54 Traditionals). These data cover their experiences in further education, employment, marriage, childbearing, and their feelings about each of these areas. Additional information was gathered to test more systematically inferences made earlier about role-modeling of and identification with parents, mentoring relationships at college, attitudes toward the women's movement, and aspirations for the future. At this time (1970) there was a general reduction in the level of Role-Innovation for the sample as a whole, associated with early family formation. However, their plans for the future, if carried out, indicated that this trend would be reversed.

The third wave of data was collected in 1981 on 117 of these same women, then age 36, covering their education, work, marital, and fertility history and future plans; TAT stories; dates of critical life events; friendships; mentor relationships; and organizational involvements. This number represents 77 percent of the 1970 sample and 58.5 percent of the 1967 sample. Again the distribution across the original strata remains good: 37 Role-Innovators, 38 Moderates, and 42 Traditionals.

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* Paper presented at the Symposium on The Women's Life-Paths Study: Role-Innovation Over Fourteen Years, at the 92nd Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada, August 24, 1984.

The most interesting finding in 1981 is that the implied reversal of the 1970 trend has indeed taken place. Therefore there is greater continuity in Role-Innovation between 1967 and 1981 than between 1970 and 1981. And the greatest continuity is among the original Role-Innovators: 81 percent of them are in fact working in male-dominated fields in 1981, compared to 68 percent of the Traditionals who remain Traditional, and 34 percent of the Moderates who remain Moderate. Secondly, what they said in 1967 and again in 1970 regarding their commitment to working as a lifestyle is very strongly predictive of what in fact they turn out to be doing in 1981. Thus, the Role-Innovators in 1967 expressed the strongest commitment to continuing work after marriage and childbearing and they have the highest proportion of people in 1981 with an uninterrupted work pattern. In part, the greater persistence among the Role-Innovators is part of a general trend in the 1981 data for more women to be employed than expected to be. In 1967, only a minority of the sample (mostly the Role-Innovators) expected to continue working after marriage and childbearing. But in 1981 we find three-fourths of the sample are employed, 71 percent of those are employed full-time.

Descriptively, the Role-Innovators in 1981 have a lot of the characteristics that one would expect of Role-Innovators. They have had more career progressions, that is, more promotions or more changes of jobs that have led to higher status. They are making more money. They are more likely to be in the top half of their work organizations. They are more likely to have predominantly male colleagues. They are more likely to be pioneers, meaning that they are the first woman or one of the first women to hold the job that they hold in that organization. They are also more likely to have had difficulties in the work world because of being a woman, including sex discrimination and sexual harassment. About 30 percent of the entire sample have experienced sexual harassment, but it is reported most frequently by Role-Innovators and Moderates.

In terms of marriage and children there is again a surprising amount of predictiveness between what the women said in 1967 and what they actually did, both in terms of when they said they wanted to get married, when they wanted to have children, and how many children they wanted to have. In 1967 the Role-Innovators wanted to marry later, wanted to start having children later, and wanted to have fewer children. In 1981 we find that on the average they did marry later, started their families later, and have had fewer children. Thus it is clear that asking women about their life plans yields good predictors of future behavior. These expectations and plans should be taken seriously, since women do exercise this kind of control and strategizing about their future.

One of the most interesting questions that we asked in 1967 and repeated in 1970 and 1981 was how much conflict did they feel over wanting to have a career and combining it with

marriage (of course almost everyone said in 1967 that they wanted to get married). The level of conflict expressed increased dramatically over the fourteen years. In 1967, only one-fifth of the sample said that they felt there was a conflict between wanting a career and being married. In 1970, one-third of the sample said that they felt such conflict. In 1981, one-half of the sample said that they thought there would be conflict. In addition to this overall trend, there are significant differences between the groups on this variable. In 1967 the Role-Innovators anticipated the most conflict, the Traditionals anticipated having the least conflict. But by 1981, there is not a significant difference between the three original groups.

Even more interestingly, when we looked at predictors of 1981 Role-Innovation, the amount of conflict they expressed in 1967 is one of the strongest positive predictors. Having anticipated that there would be conflict between marriage and career, is strongly related to actually becoming a Role-Innovator in 1981. It does not appear to be a deterrent to achieving that goal. In fact, other data suggest that anticipating the conflict leads to behavioral strategies to cope with that conflict. Thus the Role-Innovators, who were highest in conflict in 1967, tended to marry later, have children later, and to have fewer children, all of which tends to minimize the actual conflict that they would have to handle. By 1981, the relationship between Role-Innovation and current feelings of conflict is reversed: 1981 Role-Innovators report the least conflict, while Traditionals report the most. The implication of these findings is that, if we are interested in helping women to diversify their adult roles, we need to encourage them to think ahead about the problems they are likely to encounter, and to plan accordingly.

Thus, timing of marriage and children, and the number of children one has are one kind of coping strategy. Another has to do with who one marries and his attitude toward his wife's career. We find that the women whose husbands had the most supportive attitudes toward their career were most likely to be Role-Innovators in 1981.

The original Role-Innovators also report having had more mentoring from faculty while in college and subsequently. They are more likely to have had male mentors than female mentors -- of course, they were in majors where the faculty was predominantly male. Traditionals on the other hand were more likely to have had female mentors in college. And the 1967 Role-Innovators were more likely to report that they had social contacts with their male professors, that is contacts outside of class-related activities. One of the most striking changes in our data is the difference in the correlation between this aspect of mentoring and 1967 Role-Innovation, and its correlation with 1981 Role-Innovation. Whereas having social contact with one's male professors was positively related to Role-Innovation in 1967, it is negatively related to Role-Innovation in 1981. This

is not the case for social contacts with female professors nor is it the case with social contacts with teaching fellows. One possible interpretation is that more social contacts with male professors may be to some extent sexual. . And whereas that may happen more frequently to high-aspiring students while in college, it is not helpful to actually carrying out those aspirations. In a more positive vein one could say that keeping the mentor relationship with a male professor more professional and less personal, perhaps even less sexual, is more conducive to Role-Innovation in the long run.

1981 Role-Innovation

Women who are Role-Innovators in 1981 have achieved higher levels of education and show many of the work-related characteristics of the 1967 Role-Innovators (i.e., with respect to employment, salary, career progress, job characteristics, and job difficulties). Sixty-seven percent of the 1981 Role-Innovators are married, compared to 89 percent of the Traditionals. The Traditionals have the highest percentage of currently married and ever married. The 1981 Role-Innovators have had fewer children and started their families later. They have more supportive husbands, both in reported attitudes towards wife's career and in actual behavior. The 1981 Role-Innovators' partners are sharing more of the household tasks, and they may also have more paid help. Among the single Role-Innovators in 1981, we find them doing fewer of the female-type chores (ironing, washing, cooking) and more of the masculine-type chores (washing the car, outdoor maintenance, doing income taxes).

In conclusion there is strong continuity and carrying out of intentions with respect both to occupational plans and to marital and family plans. Secondly, anticipating conflict is not necessarily a deterrent to Role-Innovation ultimately. It in fact leads to better coping strategies that focus on the timing of marriage and childbearing and on the type of husband that one marries. Third, mentoring plays a significant role in actualizing Role-Innovative aspirations, and this result is associated with limiting this relationship to a professional one only.

Predicting Role-Innovation Fourteen Years After College*

Sandra S. Tangri, Howard University
Josephine Ruggiero, Providence College

If we change perspectives on the paths these women have taken by asking what factors predict to being a Role-Innovator in 1984 (rather than what became of the 1967 Role-Innovators, Moderates, and Traditionals), some obvious and some not so obvious factors emerge as good predictors. We will group these factors under Education and Employment, Family Formation, Motivation and Commitment, and Mentoring. But first we will describe the current situations that the three new groups are in, and then how they got there.

Education and Employment

There are obvious differences between the 1981 Role-Innovators, Moderates, and Traditionals in education and work history. The Innovators have the most doctoral and first professional degrees (48%), the Traditionals the least (4%); they started their graduate training sooner ($r=.22839$, $p=.0172$); the Innovators are most likely to be employed full-time (80%), the Traditionals least likely (15%); the Innovators are in more different fields; they and the Moderates are much more likely to have worked without interruption than the Traditionals; Innovators are more likely than Moderates or Traditionals to be in the upper part of their work organization, to have mostly or all male colleagues at their own level, to be supervisors, to be pioneers, to make more than $20,000 per year, and to be self-employed.

The Innovators are more likely to have experienced difficulties "getting the job [they want, getting raises or promotions, or participating in any activities which generally go along with [their job because of being a woman" (56% vs 40% of the Moderates and 22% of the Traditionals), as well as outright discrimination ($r=.3054$, $p=.0006$). Sexual harassment was experienced much more often by the Innovators and Moderates (about 30%) than by the Traditionals (8%). This is less than the 42% level of sexual harassment reported for the female federal work force nationwide (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981). But as in that survey, sexual harassment in all three groups is associated with having predominately male co-workers. Nevertheless, Role-Innovation in 1981 is correlated with the amount of mentoring one has received, and with the number of career progressions one has made (i.e., promotions, etc.). Mentoring will be more fully discussed later.

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*Paper presented at the Symposium on The Women's Life-Paths Study: Role-Innovation Over Fourteen Years, at the 92nd Annual Convention of th

American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada, August 24, 1984.

Family Formation

The 1981 Traditionals have the highest proportion of women currently married and ever married (88% and 98%), the 1981 Innovators the lowest (67% and 79%).
The Moderates, however, have the highest proportion of women who have never married (26%). Role-Innovation in 1981 is negatively related to how many children one has had (r=.44633, p=.0000) and how many one intends to have (r=.29786, p.0136), but not to the number of children wanted in 1967. The 1981 Innovators expressed stronger conflict in 1967 between wanting to get married and having a career, which may explain their lower marital rate and lower fertility. As a group they have also compressed their fetility into a shorter period of time, having their first child later and possibility their last child earlier than the other women. But as a result, perhaps, they express the least conflict in 1981 between either marriage or children and having a career. Thus, our earlier interpretation, that "anticipating conflict may lead to behaviors which minimize conflict, without giving up the goals that are seen as conflictual" (Tangri, 1974, p.209) is supported by these 1981 data. The effective coping behavior in this case appears to be giving one's career development priority over marriage and childbearing.

Feelings of conflict are also affected by the attitudes held by one's partner (husband, boyfriend, etc.). The 1981 Innovators and Moderates are more likely than the Traditionals to have partners who positively like the fact that these women have their own careers, and are not merely neutral nor actively hostile to the idea. Partner's support can be expressed in more tangible ways as well: there was considerably less sex-typed segregation of domestic chores among the more Innovative women. That is, the Innovators did fewer of the typically female chores (e.g., ironing, cooking, child care) and more of the typically male chores (e.g., car care, financial record keeping, outdoor maintenance). Among the married women, the Innovators did fewer chores of any kind--particularly the typically female chores. It may be that these dual career couples had more paid domestic help than the other couples.

Motivation and Commitment

The original data in 1967 were convincing that the women who aspired to be Role-Innovators started out with some distinctive personality characteristics and motivations (Tangri, 1972, 1974). The question now is whether those same characteristics predict actual Role-Innovation fourteen years later.

Among the original measures of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation which were good predictors of 1967 aspirations, we find several that are still good predictors of actual Role-Innovation in 1981: among the intrinsic motives, Wife's Demand and Future Work Excellence in 1967 are correlated with current Role-Innovation, though not as strongly as they were with aspirations in 1967. Husband's Demand is not a predictor of 1981

Role-Innovation. Among the extrinsic motivators, the Importance of having Opportunities for Advancement, and fantasies of Being a Leader are related to 1981 Role-Innovation, but not the Importance of Salary. Neither nAch (the need for achievement) nor Motive to Avoid Success in 1967 are directly related to Role-Innovation in 1981 (however 1981 nAch is). It would appear then, that those who persist as, or become, Role-Innovators might be integrating these two sources of motivation in a way that was less common among the 1967 Innovators.

Several measures of the importance given to one's career, and of one's intention to persist in it, are also predictive of 1981 Role-Innovation. Valuing one's career was measured in 1967 by asking respondents to indicate how important they felt their career would be to them, and in 1970 by asking them whether they would agree with the statement that they "want and intend to have a career; my husband will have to adjust accordingly." Both of these measures are significantly related to Role-Innovation in 1981.

Furthermore, behavioral commitment to one's career was measured by asking them in 1967 and 1970 whether they intended to work after getting married, after having children and how soon they would return to work after having children. These items were combined into a commitment index. Both the 1967 and 1970 index are signifcantly related to Role-Innovation in 1981. Thus, we have good reason to argue that the women of this cohort did make general plans about the course of their lives with respect to both work and marriage, and by and large manage to carry them out. (The paper by Dr. Jenkins discusses what determines whether they do or do not persist in these aspirations and plans.) Furthermore, it appears that those who are most realistic about the problems likely to arise in carrying out such plans are also most likely to pursue strategies that succeed in achieving these goals.

Mentoring

There has been a lot of interest recently in the potentially strategic importance of having a mentor to guide and promote one's career. We can examine this question in several ways because we asked these women in 1967, 1970, and 1981 about the sources of influence on their careers from faculty and from others encountered since graduating from college. Because mentors can also be role models, we analyzed whether the mentoring was received from men, women, or both.

In their descriptions of the faculty at college, the new Role-Innovators are the most likely to report receiving encouragement from male faculty and particularly from more than one male faculty member; whereas the Traditionals are somewhat more likely to receive encouragement only from female faculty. As we said before, this simply reflects the sex-ratios in the faculties of the respective Departments. Nevertheless, new Role-Innovators were more likely than Traditionals and Moderates

to see female faculty who encouraged them outside of the academic relationship, but somewhat less likely to see male faculty who encouraged them. This pattern is particularly surprising because it is the reverse of what was found in relation to 1967 aspirations. One possible interpretation is that purely social contacts with male faculty may be somewhat sexual in nature--and though this kind of relationship may occur more often with women who have higher aspirations, it does not help them achieve those aspirations. More specifically, keeping those relationships strictly professional is helpful, while sexualizing them may be harmful. Purely social contact with female faculty does not appear to run the same risks. Nor apparently, does out-of-class contact with Teaching Fellows (most of whom were male). As was the case with the 1967 groups, 1981 Role-Innovation is positively related to frequency of seeing a teaching fellow outside of class, and significantly negatively related to the number of teaching fellows seen outside of class.

Within each 1981 Role-Innovation group, there are some intriguing differences. For 1981 Innovators, having had stimulating courses and receiving encouragement from male senior faculty are significantly and positively related to level of highest degree attained. And having had challenging courses and female faculty who had a special influence on them is positively and significantly related to being a pioneer.

For 1981 Traditionals, several measures of faculty support, and achieving a "deep grasp" of one's field while in college are significantly negatively related to one's own income and significantly positively related to one's partner's income. Perhaps this means that the more thoroughly socialized one is into a traditional occupation, the more traditional the rest of one's affairs will be also (i.e., making less money, marrying "up"). Alternatively, it may mean that in the Traditional fields, poor students get more attention, and are quicker to think they've mastered their field, yet fail to perform as well as they should once they are out working, thus earning less (and depending more on spouse's income).

Finally, for 1981 Innovators, the number of faculty with whom they had contact outside of class is positively (and significantly) related to being a supervisor in 1981; while for 1981 Traditionals the numbser of Teaching Fellows with whom they had such contact is significantly negatively related to being a supervisor.

The picture for later mentoring is much more univocal. Role-Innovation in 1981 is strongly related to having mentors and to how much mentoring one has received (r.24788, p=.0036). And sex of mentor again reflects Role-Innovation: Innovators have had more male mentors than women mentors and more male mentors than the Traditionals. But there are no significant differences between the groups in female mentoring (about 15-20% have had women mentors).

Emotional Adaptation and Changes in Employment*

Jan L. Hitchcock**

Harvard University

These analyses take a "life change" perspective on subjects' employment experiences, and examine the relationship between emotional orientations and recency of last change in employment. Changes in employment, as with major life changes in other domains, entail shifts in environmental stimuli, in roles and demands; most broadly, in the equilibrium -- including emotional -- that an individual reaches with her/his environment.

One-third of the present sample of college-educated women, all assessed in 1981 at age approximately 36 years, had experienced some change in employment within the year prior to the 1981 study. Changes in employment are defined here comprehensively to include changing position within one company, going to work for a different organization, or changing employment status by leaving or re-entering the paid workforce.

Assessment of the subjects' stances of emotional adaptation to the environment was made through the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), using a measure and scoring system developed by Stewart.

* Paper presented as part of symposium on "The Women's Life Paths Study: Role-Innovation Over Fourteen Years" at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association, August 24, 1984, Toronto.

The work reported here was part of the author's dissertation research (Hitchcock, 1984), conducted as graduate study at the Department of Psychology and Social Relations, Harvard University. Data analysis and part of the expense of the 1981 data collection were supported by funds from the Department, from the Henry A. Murray Research Center (Radcliffe College), and from a NSF grant to Prof. David C. McClelland. (See Note 1 for further background on sample and study.)

** Current affiliation and mailing address: Institute for the Study of Smoking Behavior and Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138.

The TAT stories were scored by an experienced scorer who had originally achieved a category-agreement coefficient of .90 with the expert-scored training materials (Stewart, 1977)*. The scoring categories for the four stances of emotional adaptation are outlined in Table 1.

Prior research with the measure (e.g., Stewart, 1982; Stewart, Sokol, Healy, Chester & Weinstock-Savoy, 1982) suggests that each new major life change in a person's life can trigger a shift to concern with developmentally "earlier" emotional stances of Receptivity and Autonomy. In the course of successful adaptation, the individual is hypothesized to shift to the "later" emotional issues of Assertion and Integration.

While the four emotional stances -- Receptivity, Autonomy, Assertion and Integration -- originate from the developmental stage models of Freud and Erikson, Stewart's research program has suggested instead a cyclical model of the experience of these emotional stances -- an individual's concern with a given emotional stance is not to be taken as characteristic of developmental immaturity or maturity. Rather, individuals at varying points in the life cycle and in response to different types of life changes are hypothesized to undergo a common process of emotional adaptation to change -- a sequence of emotional stances re-experienced and "renegotiated" anew with each major alteration in the person's environment. Stewart and colleagues have found, for instance, that samples of women recently marrying or giving birth to their

* When confounds exist between the frequency of stance imagery and the length of the protocols, the raw frequency of stance imagery is corrected for differences in protocol length, and the raw residual scores then standardized. Winter (1979) discusses the general procedure of correcting motive scores for fluency effects; Stewart et al. (1982) review the procedure as it applies to the stances of emotional adaptation.

Table 1

Brief Outline of Scoring Categories
for Stances of Emotional Adaptation to the Environment [a]

	"Receptivity"	"Autonomy"	"Assertion"	"Integration"
	Content categories associated with the groups behaviorally defined as:			
	Oral	Anal	Phallic	Genital
Content areas:				
Attitude toward Authority	Authority is benevolent	Authority is critical, reprimanding	Opposition to authority	Authority is limited
Relations with Others	Immediate gratification	Lack of gratification	Flight and exploitation	Mutuality, sharing
Feelings	Loss, despair, confusion	Anxiety about competence	Hostility, anger	Ambivalence
Orientation to Action	Passivity	Clearing of disorder	Failure, in context of confident attempt	Work commitment and involvement

[a] Table from Stewart, 1982, p. 1105, with minor modification.

first child, as well as several age groups of students beginning or changing schools, all showed a common concern in fantasy with emotional issues corresponding to the Receptivity and Autonomy stances. In contrast, groups assessed sometime before or well after these changes were more concerned with the later issues of Assertion and Integration.

As an extension into a domain of life changes consistent with Stewart's model, but not previously tested in the research, the present analyses focus on changes in the realm of paid employment.

Analyses based on the 108 of the 117 subjects who have complete 1981 TAT protocols and data on recency of last change in employment support this model of emotional adaptation relative to the stances of Autonomy and Assertion. Subjects with recent changes in employment had higher Autonomy scores and lower Assertion scores than did those subjects for whom the last change in employment was more distant. The Pearson correlation between number of months elapsed since last change in employment and corrected and standardized Autonomy scores is -.17, with a two-tailed p significant at the trend level of $<.10$. For Assertion, the correlation coefficient is +.19, significant at $p < .05$. The relationships between recency of last change in employment with the stances of Receptivity and Integration were nonsignificant, as were the correlations with two composite stance scores based on the weighted average of the four stances, and on the modal stance orientation.

When considered in conjunction with the subjects' child rearing responsibilities, current employment status (whether working in paid full-time employment or not) was itself associated with emotional orientations, and also acted as a moderator of the

relationship between emotional stance scores and recency of last change in employment: Women who were employed full-time and who also had families with two or more children had higher Assertion scores regardless of and also controlling for recency of last change (r of +.18 significant at $p < .10$; partial correlation of +.21 significant at $p < .05$). When the interaction between family-career contexts and recency of last change in employment was analyzed, the subjects with the multiple demanding roles showed greater concern with the later emotional stances (as assessed by both composite scores) when their last change was recent, versus when they had had some time to adapt to it. This pattern, which is opposite from that predicted by the adaptation to life changes model, occurred in multiple regression analyses focused on changes in employment, and also in other multiple regression analyses with different types of life changes analyzed simultaneously.

Through greater experience and skills with higher levels of role demands, self-selection for a more changeful life, and/or due to the relatively lower salience of each additional change in an already changeful life, these women appeared to emotionally "flourish" in the face of new changes.

This pattern in the projective material written by women with different family and career involvements converges with the findings of Stewart and Salt (1981) that life stress is less clearly related to either physical illness or depression among women who have both family and career resources to draw upon in adapting to life changes; and also with the findings of Baruch, Barnett and Rivers (1983) that multiple roles can have a positive

effect on women's well-being.

The emotional flourishing on the part of women with multiple demanding roles and recent change experiences raises questions of the fundamental nature of life changes and emotional adaptation. For whom, and with what type of change, is the present model of adaptation to life changes most appropriate? When do life changes represent stimuli for subsequent disequilibrium and processes of emotional adaptation? Or when might the life changes be best viewed as <u>part of</u>, not a disruptor of, the person's adaptive equilibrium? Finally, relative to the assessment of subjects' emotional adaptation through Stewart's measure, more work is needed on the nature and meaning of the "Assertion" stance and its significance within models of processes of adaptation to change and of individual differences in emotional styles.

Note 1. The subjects in this study comprise a subsample twice-removed from Gurin's A Study of Students in a Multiversity (1971). Tangri selected a subgroup of 200 women, seniors from the class of 1967, for futher study of their occupational choices (1969). She also conducted a follow-up study of these subjects four years after their graduation (reported in Tangri, 1974). The 1981 study of this same sample was conducted as a collaborative effort involving the author, Sandra S. Tangri (Dept. of Psychology, Howard University), Josephine A. Ruggiero (Dept. of Sociology, Providence College), and Sharon Rae Jenkins (Institute of Human Development, University of California, Berkeley).

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Role Innovative Goals: Achievement and Change

Sharon Rae Jenkins
University of California, Santa Cruz

What personality characteristics and life choices enable college women to attain their original goals? Under what conditions do college women change or postpone their goals over 14 years? We have seen a surprising amount of continuity in our sample, but interestingly enough, there is greater continuity between our subjects' 1967 plans and their 1981 achievements than in the shorter ranges between 1967 and 1970, or 1970 and 1981. In studying this complex question, I focused the present analyses on career plans and attitude and life choices for education and family. In the analyses to follow, the number of subjects varies according to the availability of data, so I report primarily percentages rather than frequencies in order to avert confusion.

Our sample demonstrated surprising longitudinal continuity between 1967 plans and 1981 behavior. Eighty-one percent of the original Role Innovators and 68% of the Traditionals were also Role Innovators and Traditionals, respectively, in 1981. The original Moderates changed most, with only 34% also Moderates in 1981. More Traditionals moved toward innovation than Role Innovators moved toward traditionality, 32% and 19% respectively. However, more Moderates became traditional than became innovative, 40% vs. 26%. In the analyses presented below, less than half of the more Role Innovative group were originally Moderates and more than half were originally Traditionals, whereas about

two-thirds of the more Traditional group were originally Moderates and one-third were originally Role Innovators.

Perhaps "continuity" is not the right word. Indeed, "delayed gratification" might be better. For given the proportion of the sample who achieved their career aspirations in the long range, there was actually a surprising amount of discontinuity between 1967 and 1970. Only 55% of continuing Role Innovators, 32% of continuing Moderates, and 38% of continuing Traditionals were so in 1970. There are probably two main sources of this career-related discontinuity: first, the choice to postpone career goals in favor of early marriage and childbearing, and second, a broader range of young adult explorations including both career and non-career objectives. (Some of the latter may be specific to the cohort of women who were in their early twenties in the late '60s, but our data do not provide extensive detail on these issues.) In 1970, 31% of the continuing Role Innovators and Moderates were temporarily Traditionals, most of them housewives, while only 14% of the Traditionals (3 women) were trying out role innovative or moderate jobs or educational fields.

Regarding the first source of discontinuity, the Traditional group in all analyses includes both women who are employed in traditionally female occupations and women who are doing that most traditional of (usually unpaid) female work, childrearing. In practice, however, this distinction seems not to be large. Most traditionally female occupations are "jobs" rather than "careers", in which status, advancement, and a high salary are

less common rewards, but in which logistics provide a better fit with the second career of childrearing. Traditional jobs more often provide part-time opportunities, flexible hours, and greater freedom to move in and out of the labor force than do full-time, committed non-traditional careers. Therefore, the choice of a traditional occupation may reflect a woman's preference for a life structure centered on childbearing rather than a career, and a shift toward occupational traditionality may indicate a shift in her life priorities. Indeed, both our continuing Traditionals and more Traditional subjects hoped for and have had more children sooner than the other groups. Furthermore, most of the women who were not employed in 1981 planned to return to work, but the majority to traditional occupations, again reducing the distinction between employed and mothering Traditionals. Most of the Role Innovators and Moderates who had children had both fewer children and shorter career interruptions, with 53% being out of the labor force for less than a year compared with 24% of Traditionals.

Our data do not include a direct question which differentiates those who have postponed their career goals from those who have changed their priorities. Only ten subjects cited family obligations as a reason for changing their career goals between 1970 and 1981. However, some inferences can be drawn from our more extensive data regarding career plans and attitudes, which include questions about the relative balance of career and family in women's lives.

It is a truism that even for women who hope to "have it

all", family and career goals cannot be understood fully when studied separately. Even for women who appear to have chosen one for a time, the balance often remains a dynamic one. In the analyses to follow, I highlight the patterns of continuity and change over time which seem to distinguish those who achieved their 1967 goals from those who achieved different goals. In particular, I have focused on those variables and time-points where those who became more role innovative ("more Role Innovatives") and those who became more traditional ("more Traditionals") appear to have made important and interpretable shifts.

One early indicator was quite strong. Rating their future careers as "an important area of life" in 1967, more Traditionals gave the lowest average rating of the five groups, with continuing Traditionals next lowest and more Role Innovatives close to continuing Role Innovators. A more ambiguous index was taken from the Future Life descriptions in both 1967 and 1970, which were scored for relative priority of family and work. Here, continuing Role Innovators were the most often work-oriented (43%), though 32% were family-oriented. Most of the continuing Moderates and continuing Traditionals described balanced priorities. More Role Innovatives were only slightly more often work oriented, and more Traditionals slightly more often family-oriented. In perceptions of marriage-career conflict, the most striking contrast in 1967 was between continuing Role Innovators and continuing Moderates together and continuing Traditionals; about 41% of the former and 4% of the latter felt conflict, with the more Traditionals (14%) closer to the continuing Traditionals

and the more Role Innovatives not far away (20%).

By 1970, the whole sample had become more family-oriented on the Future Life index, and the between-group differences became smaller. The whole sample also perceived more marriage-career conflict, with continuing Traditionals increasing the most; the more Traditionals were the only group to show no change. Regarding responses to anticipated conflict, subjects were asked in 1970 to rate their agreement with the statement, "I want and intend to have a career; my husband will have to take that for granted and adjust accordingly." Subjects' responses strengthen my impression of an early shift of career investment vis a vis marriage by more Role Innovatives and more Traditionals. Like the continuing Traditionals, only 33% of the more Traditionals agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, while 55% of the more Role Innovatives did so, approaching the 64% and 71% agreement rates of the continuing Moderates and continuing Role Innovators. A similar pattern appears for commitment to work after children in 1967 and 1970, with the more Traditionals the same as the continuing Traditionals and the more Role Innovatives more like, though not the same as, the continuing Role Innovators and continuing Moderates.

Thus, these data are evidence that more Traditionals may have begun in 1967 with a substantive interest in non-traditional work, but most gave it a somewhat lower priority early on, and that priority decreased over time rather quickly, so that by 1970 most of this group did not see work as a serious competitor with marriage for their time and energies. In part, they apparently

lacked emotional investment in such a career, though some may also have had an unrealistic view of the real demands of nontraditional work. Interestingly, there is some evidence that the more Traditionals, like some religious converts, are more zealous about their choice of family over career than even the continuing Traditionals. In 1981, 71% of the more Traditionals did not even mention work as part of their present major activity, whereas only 54% of continuing Traditionals omitted it (the other groups averaged 10% omission); and in describing their felt marriage-career conflicts in 1981, 23% of the continuing Traditionals--but 47% of the more Traditionals--explicitly said they had chosen family over career.

Subjects were asked in 1981 whether they had changed their occupational goals since 1970. The resulting data not only bolster the impression given above that most more Role Innovatives changed later than more Traditionals, but also document some reasons for change, not only among more Role Innovatives but among those I have called continuing Role Innovators, some of whom were pursuing moderate or traditional goals in 1970. First, 16% of those reporting a goal change said in retrospect that their 1970 goals were unclear, and half of these were continuing Role Innovators (of whom half (4) had been Traditionals in 1970). Thus, 29% of the continuing Role Innovators were unclear about their goals in 1970, compared with a negligible number from other groups. Second, 19% of those changing 1970 goals said they had not wanted to work or had chosen to limit their work commitments as of 1970, and interestingly, 25% (5) of these were continuing

Role Innovators, of whom 80% were Traditionals in 1970. Nearly all of the rest were continuing Traditionals (45%) or more Traditionals (25%). Third, 30% of those changing 1970 goals said they changed due to general maturation ("I grew up", "I decided to make serious plans"), a desire for professional growth, and/or raised aspirations, and these included 44% of the more Role Innovatives, as well as 62% of the continuing Moderates, compared with 6% of the more Traditionals. Finally, 29% of those changing 1970 goals said they were dissatisfied with a particular job or kind of work, including 33% of the continuing Role Innovators and 40% of the more Role Innovatives-- but also 31% of the more Traditionals. However, more of the latter seem to have resolved their dissatisfaction by dropping out of the labor force, while the continuing Role Innovators and more Role Innovatives chose different, more innovative, work.

Early life choices regarding education and family also differentiate these groups. About half of each group had masters degrees by 1970, except for continuing Traditionals, only 21% of whom had done so. By 1981, half of the continuing Role Innovators, 36% of the continuing Moderates, and 40% of the more Role Innovatives had doctorates but only 3 of the continuing Traditionals and more Traditionals. Half of the latter two groups attained masters degrees eventually. The most zealously educated group was the more Role Innovatives, of whom only 15% stopped at the bachelors degree.

A broad picture of family choices shows very little difference between more Traditionals and continuing Traditionals, and a

small difference between more Role Innovatives and their cohorts. The continuing Traditionals and more Traditionals married significantly earlier than the others, and the more Role Innovatives a bit earlier than the continuing Role Innovators and continuing Moderates. The same pattern held for the year of first childbirth, though the more Role Innovatives were inseparable from the continuing Role Innovators here; and also held for number of children, with the continuing Role Innovators, continuing Moderates, and more Role Innovatives averaging one and continuing Traditionals and more Traditionals averaging two.

Thus, most of our subjects attained the general class of occupational goals to which they aspired in 1967, though not always directly, with a significant number of each group choosing family goals, and a few other career goals, in 1970. Most of those who became more traditional changed their goals early on, in part because of an increase in family as a priority and in part because of an original low investment in work. Most of those who became more innovative did so after 1970, and attributed their change to growth and raised aspirations or to dissatisfaction with their 1970 jobs. As part of their later education, most of this group earned higher degrees. Family and career goals have clearly formed complex patterns of tension and resolution in this study of goal achievement and change.